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# The Classical Weekly

VOLUME XXV, NO. 2 MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1931 WHOLE NO. 665

## PIETAS VERSUS VIOLENTIA IN THE AENEID[1]

That the epithet *pius* belongs especially to Aeneas and the attribute *violentia* especially to Turnus are commonplaces. But emphasis has not been laid upon the fact that *pietas* and *violentia*, respectively, characterize in general all the forces, divine and human, individual and collective, that are arrayed for and against Aeneas[2].

The terms that Vergil applies to these great hosts are interesting. *Pius* and *pietas*, *fas* and *fata* are used of Aeneas's side; to those opposed to him *saevio* and *saevus*, *furo* and *furor*, *violentus* and *violentia*, *demens* and *amens*, *nefas* and *nefandus* are applied. There are exceptions, of course. Vergil is too wise and too gentle to paint one side absolutely white, the other absolutely black. A *pietatis imago* is presented by Lausus[3], an enemy. Aeneas *furit* and *saevit*[4], notably at the fall of Troy, and after the death of Pallas. But Lausus is a surprising son of an unworthy father, and Aeneas is not really himself on the occasions in question. More difficult is the case of Nisus and Euryalus. Though Vergil admires them, and promises them eternal fame (9.446–449), they are far from exemplary. I pass over Nisus's trickery in the games (5.327–338), for the ancients did not have the same ideas of sportsmanship as we have. But their exploit in Book 9 (314–449) is characterized by lust for blood and lust for gain. They murder sleeping men, as did a Greek, *impius Tydides*, and they perish through their eagerness for glittering spoils, even as does the Italian Camilla. Moreover, they commit a sacrilege of which, I think, no other follower of Aeneas is guilty: without justification they kill an augur[5]. But they are common soldiers: Diomedes and Camilla, leaders, have heavier responsibilities and should have higher standards. Yet Nisus and Euryalus in their patriotism and devotion to each other possess elements of *pietas* after all![6]

On Aeneas's *pietas* we need not expatiate. *Pius*[7] is most often used of him when he is engaged in a religious ceremony—prayer to Jupiter (5.685), sacrifice to Juno (8.84), funeral-games in honor of Anchises (5.286)[8], funeral-rites of Misenus (6.232), of Caieta (7.5), of Pallas (11.170), the making of the truce with Latinus (12.175), and the attempt to keep this treaty unbroken (12.311). When Aeneas seeks the Sibyl at his father's command, in order to visit that father in Hades[9], he is *pius* (6.9), as when he welcomes a return to Sicily, where his friend Acestes rules and his father Anchises lies buried (5.26). He is *pius* when he laments his lost friends (Orontes, etc., 1.220, Misenus, 6.176) or a fallen enemy (Lausus, 10.826)[10], and when he assails his enemies (Lucagus, 10.591, Mezentius, 10.783)[11]. He is termed *pius* thrice in connection with his visit to Carthage: when he arrives there, and plans to explore the place, as any responsible leader would (1.305), when he introduces himself to Dido (1.378), and, most significantly, when he determines to depart despite Dido's entreaties (4.393).

Aeneas's *pietas* is stressed by Vergil at the very outset (1.10). Aeneas twice calls himself *pius* (in presenting himself to Dido, 1.378, and in his apostrophe

[1]This paper was read at the Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at Baltimore City College, on May 3–4, 1929.

<Every reader of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY should have at hand a complete text of the Aeneid; hence passages are seldom quoted in this paper. Professor Hahn used the edition of Vergil by F. A. Hirtzell, in the Oxford Classical Texts Series. C. K.>

[2]In a paper entitled Vergil and the "Under-Dog", Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 56 (1925), 185–212, I tried to show that Vergil's sympathy for his characters grows as their misfortunes increase, whatever the side they represent. But this does not mean that he approves or excuses the persons whom he pities.

[3]The words are used elsewhere of the impression made by Euryalus (9.294), and by Aeneas himself (6.405): they are applied to Lausus in 10.824. Aeneas remarks (10.812) that Lausus's *pietas* had been his undoing, a hint, perhaps, that Lausus's filial devotion was misplaced (compare 7.653–654). Soon thereafter *pius* is applied to Aeneas himself (10.826). Aeneas is *pius* when he hurls his weapon against Lausus's father (10.783).

[4]We find applied to Aeneas *furor iraque*, 2.316; *furiata mente*, 2.588; *quid furis . . .?*, 2.595; *furenti*, perhaps, 2.771; *furit*, 10.545; *furens*, 10.604; *furiis accensus et ira*, 12.946; *desaevit*, 10.569; *saevum*, 11.910; *saevus*, 12.107; *saevo . . . pectore*, 12.888. Aeneas shows himself especially cruel in 10.557–560, 592–594, 599–600, and sacrilegious in 10.537–541.

[5]9.324–328. Aeneas himself is guilty of like sacrilege in his moment of madness, 10.537–541. The Trojans also kill the augur Tolumnius; but he, as violator of a truce which he as a holy man ought to have defended, deserved to die (compare 12.460–461). The Greeks killed Panthus, who deserved to live (2.429–430), but was not protected either by his *pietas* or by the *infula*. We hear (10.538) of the *infula*, but not of the *pietas*, of Haemonides, the priest killed by Aeneas. The luxury-loving augur killed by Nisus presents no picture of *pietas*: Turnus's approval of him (9.327) is no recommendation.

[6]Vergil calls Nisus's love for Euryalus *pius* (5.296). Ascanius is moved by the *pietatis imago* presented by Euryalus (9.294).

[7]*Pius* is applied also to Apollo, 3.75; to the *numina*, 4.382; to the blessed in Elysium, 5.734, 8.670, and the *vates* there, 6.662 (perhaps to *vates* also in 4.464); to the Trojans in general, 1.526, 3.266, 7.21; to particular Trojans, Deiphobus, 6.530, and Nisus, 5.296; to Dido, 1.603, prematurely, by Aeneas (compare note 78, below), 4.517; to Turnus, 10.617, unreasonably, by Juno; and to the Latin matrons to whom Amata appeals, 7.401. Articles used in religious rites are also characterized as *pius*: *vitta*, 4.637; *far*, 5.745. For this reason, perhaps, *pius* is used of Dido in 4.517, but oddly, since Dido is working with a witch (509–516), and is determined to die (519) by a self-inflicted death (compare note 52, below).

*Pius* does not occur in the Eclogues. It occurs once in the Georgics, 3.513 di meliora piis . . . ! In the Appendix Vergiliana it is used of the gods, Ciris 219; of righteous person(s), Dirae 83, *pii . . . civis* (if Ellis's conjecture is correct), Culex 295, *saecla piorum* (compare *impia . . . gens*, Georgics 2.537); of Elysium, Culex 39, 375 (compare *impia Tartara*, Aeneid 5.733–734, 6.543); of the instrument used in a sacrifice, *ferro*, Ciris 366 (compare Aeneid 4.637, 5.745); of *causa*, Ciris 157; and of *iure*, Ciris 335.

Vergil applies *impius* to Furor, Aeneid 1.294, to Mars, Georgics 1.511; to the soldier who despoils the innocent peasant, Eclogues 1.70; to arms taken up in an evil cause, Aeneid 12.31, 6.613; to Tartarus, Aeneid 5.733, 6.543; to the *gens* that followed the Golden Age of Saturn, Georgics 2.537, and the *saecula* at the time of Caesar's assassination, Georgics 1.468; to Diomedes when he defiled the Palladium, Aeneid 2.163, and Pygmalion when he slew Sychaeus at the altar, 1.349; to Aeneas in the eyes of Dido, 4.496, to Dido herself, or, at least, to her deeds, 4.596, and to Fama when she brings Dido tidings of Aeneas's departure, 4.298. The application of the word to Dido's *facta* and to Latinus's *arma*, the two great forces that oppose Aeneas's mission, is particularly noteworthy. The eleven instances of the term in the Appendix Vergiliana, offer nothing of importance to us.

[8]Compare 5.418. On this, however, see note 14, below.

[9]In connection with this visit to Hades, *pietas* is used twice by the Sibyl, 6.403, 405, once by Anchises, 6.688. Its other applications to Aeneas have to do with his habitual conduct, not with any particular act.

[10]Who was himself distinguished by *pietas*. See note 3, above.

[11]His *pietas* is rightly stressed when he is matched with Mezentius, *contemptor divum*; but Lucagus seems inoffensive enough. Aeneas's asperity toward him can be accounted for, but scarcely as a manifestation of *pietas*.

to the dead Lausus, 10.826)[12]. His *pietas* is recognized by Venus (1.253)[13], by Anchises (6.687–688), by his followers Ilioneus (1.544–545) and Aletes (9.255), by his young kinsman Polydorus (3.42), by the seer Helenus (3.480), by the Sibyl (6.403, 405), by King Evander even in his anguish (11.170), by the rude prize-fighter Entellus (5.418)[14], by his enemy Diomedes (11.292)[15]. Dido calls Aeneas *impius*[16], but that is part of her wrong-headedness—the sort of wrong-headedness that makes Juno call Turnus *pius* (10.617)[17]. *Pietas* is predicated also of Aeneas's father Anchises[18] (5.734–735), his descendants Silvius Aeneas (6.769–770) and Marcellus (6.878–879)[19], the Trojan priest Panthus (2.429–430), the Trojan race in general (1.526, 7.21), and the Roman race that is to spring from it (12.839)[20].

What constitutes Aeneas's *pietas?* One part of it is his selflessness. He is a thorough-going Stoic in this (without wishing to stir up an old controversy[21], I express my belief that the morals of the Aeneid and of Aeneas are Stoic). When first we see Aeneas acting with reference to his comrades, he is cheering them and concealing his own grief (1.209); later, when he leaves Dido, he will not, in the face of what he rightly deems his duty, permit his sorrow to come to the surface (4.331–332).

Sympathy he possesses in full measure, and that pity which is akin to *pietas* in more than etymology. He is always thoughtful of his men, comforting them when they are downcast (1.199, 206–207, 5.770), though he is himself steeped in sorrow (1.94–101, 209), or is grieving because of the burning of his boats and the prospective separation from many of his comrades. Even toward an enemy he is truly magnanimous, in the English as well as in the Latin sense of the word. He prefers peace to war, and grieves when he must fight (8.29, 537–540); but, if he must fight[22], he prefers a single combat in which he alone could suffer (12.109). The Latin suppliants he receives kindly (11.106–111), deeply though he has been wronged by their race; he grieves for his enemy Lausus almost as profoundly as for his ally Pallas[23]; had it not been for the wrong done to Pallas, even to his arch-enemy Turnus he would have shown mercy (note *cunctantem* in 12.940).

Piety in its English connotation is one of Aeneas's salient characteristics. With meticulous care he performs all rites required of him—for humble nurse (7.5–6) as for his father (5.77–79)[24]. He delays his departure from a polluted land to carry out the obsequies of Polydorus (3.62–68); he delays his search for the Golden Bough to carry out the obsequies of Misenus (6.176–182, 212–235[25]; by poetic justice, while he is busy with these obsequies he discovers the Bough). Whenever he sets out on a new undertaking, or touches a new land as visitor or as settler, his first thought is to make solemn invocation and sacrifice[26]. He is ever eager to extend courteous recognition to the gods of his hosts, such as Acestes (5.62–63) and Evander (8.278–279, 543–545), who as courteously respond by offering him a share in their solemnities, or by participating in his (5.72–74, 8.123, 172–174, 273–275).

Above all he shows *pietas* by scrupulousness in consulting and in obeying the gods[27]. He is governed always by the fates, never by his own will. Aeneas's life, during the years that we know him, is summed up by the two words that begin 1.2, *Italiam fato:* he goes *to Italy*, and he goes *by fate*. I cannot accept the punctuation of some editors[28], who separate these ideas, *Italiam* and *fato*, and take the latter closely with *profugus*, setting apart by commas the words *fato profugus*. The word *fato* applies, I think, to all that precedes and to all that follows *profugus*[29]. In all this Aeneas obeys fate, knowingly and willingly. In such obedience Aeneas and his followers show their *pietas;* in the lack of such obedience their opponents show their *violentia*.

[12]Compare notes 3, 10, above.

[13]She is complaining of the scanty reward that Aeneas receives for his *pietas*. She has the specific *pietas* of Aeneas in mind when she says *quam . . . pietas nec mitigat ulla* (5.783); so the general exhortation made by Drances, 11.354, nec te ullius violentia vincat, is an allusion to the specific *violentia* of Turnus.

[14]Entellus may be speaking ironically, to suggest that he is not receiving fair play from the Trojans. Here our sympathy begins to turn from him to Dares (Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 56.190).

[15]Diomedes is no longer the *impius Tydides* of Trojan War days.

[16]4.496. In 382 she calls upon *pia numina* to punish him for abandoning her. But Dido's misconception ought not to be shared by the reader. Vergil himself calls Aeneas *pius* precisely when, contrary to his own desires, he is preparing for departure (393).

[17]Compare the words used by Arruns of himself and his countrymen, 11.787 *freti pietate*. Apollo is not tricked by his mock humility and piety; see Conington's note.

[18]He dwells in the abode of the *pii* (5.733–735), among the chosen few (6.744). Of his earlier misdeeds there is no hint. Helenus (3.475) hails him as Coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo; there is no hint that he showed himself unworthy of this honor (except, possibly, the fact that Venus and Anchises at no time come into direct contact in the Aeneid). In 2.647–649 Anchises mentions his long-standing infirmity, and its direct cause, the thunderbolt hurled by Jupiter, but to the orthodox story about the reason for this Vergil never alludes. So Laomedon's evil-doing may be referred to by Dido, 4.541–542 necdum Laomedonteae sentis periuria gentis?, and by Celaeno, in *Laomedontiadae*, 3.248, but there is no suggestion of it in 2.610–612, where there was an excellent opportunity for reference to it.

[19]Here *pietas, fides*, and prowess in battle are assigned to Marcellus, and represented, in semipersonified guise, as mourning his loss.

[20]Because of this quality Neptune aids them. Compare the appeals made on the same grounds to Jupiter and to the gods in general, 2.690, 3.266.

[21]See Tenney Frank, Epicurean Determinism in the Aeneid, The American Journal of Philology 41 (1920), 115–126; Arthur Stanley Pease, Virgilian Determinism, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.2–5; Tenney Frank, Correspondence on Vergilian Determinism, *ibidem*, 24.

[22]The Fates compel him to fight (11.96–97). He does not love fighting for its own sake. Before the single combat with Turnus he has to stir himself up for battle (12.108).

[23]Compare Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 56.201–202, and especially note 121.

[24]Compare the consecration to Anchises of a priest and a grove in the new city in Sicily, 5.760–761, and Aeneas's prayer to Anchises on his attainment of the destined spot in Italy, 7.133–134.

[25]The obsequies of Misenus are fully described, fittingly, as a prelude to Aeneas's visit to the under world.

[26]Compare 7.133–140.

[27]As well as the one human being who likewise has a claim on his *pietas*, his father. For the special relationship of Aeneas to Anchises see my article, Aeneid 2.781 and Aeneid 3 Again: Aeneas's Attitude Towards Visions, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14 (1921), 122–126.

[28]E. g. Conington, Professor Charles Knapp in his revised edition, 1928 (in his first edition, 1901, he used no commas in line 2, and took *fato* with both *venit* and *profugus*, which to me seems far better; in the revised edition, he construes *fato* specifically with *profugus*, though he adds that it "belongs with *profugus . . . Romae*, 2–7. *All* Aeneas's experiences were predestined . . . ").

<If Professor Hahn would be rigidly logical, she would set no comma at all in verses 2–7. By no other device can one bring out to the *eye* the idea that she and I both have of the application of *fato profugus*. Neither she nor any one else could—or would—*read* these verses without a pause. Even a Roman, who had no comma, would, as he read these verses, stop somewhere, for breath, if for nothing else; one sharp stop inevitably falls after *litora*, 3. A good reader would stop also after *Italiam* and after *fato*, 2. C. K.>.

[29]With all that this implies, both from the civic and from the religious standpoint. Naturally, Vergil stresses the latter; the special purpose, *inferret . . . deos Latio*, is made as prominent as the general purpose, *dum conderet urbem*. Thus one noteworthy feature of Aeneas's *pietas* is emphasized from the outset.

For Aeneas's obedience to the fates note his own words, 1.382 data fata secutus, and Jupiter's reproach, 4.225 fatis...datas non respicit urbes. The *arva* assigned to Aeneas are described by him as *fatalia* (4.355, 5.82); the Italian kingdom and Rome itself, according to Mercury, are 'owed' to Iulus (4.275–276). Ilioneus, too, in 7.239–240, stresses the Trojans' obedience to the *fata deum*[30]. The gods, too, are followed by Aeneas (see 3.363–364, 715, 6.461–463). They make known their desires to him in all his undertakings, such as engagement in battle (11.19–20). The storm that drives Aeneas to Sicily, the coming of Aeneas to Hades, the fall of Troy itself are said to occur *non (haud) sine numine divum*, by Aeneas (5.56), by Palinurus (6.368), by Creusa (2.777: compare Venus's statement, in 2.602–603, that the gods are wrecking Troy). Apollo in particular is regarded as a guide (3.84–89, 4.345–346, 6.56–60). Mercury, too, Aeneas follows (4.576–577). *Fas* is accepted as binding by Creusa (2.778–779), and by Aeneas (4.350). The fact that he follows the fates and the gods[31], never his own will[32] Aeneas emphasizes in 4.340–344, and above all in 4.361 Italiam non sponte sequor.

Even the gods are—or should be—subject to the fates; even the gods are not exempt from duty to *fas*[33] and to *fata*. This duty is recognized by Venus, in every plea that she makes for Aeneas (to Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan), and in every protest (to Jupiter or Juno). Her appeal to Neptune ends with the assurance that she expects it to be granted only *if* it is duly made (5.798)[34]. She uses the same method in her plea to Jupiter (10.31–35), an echo of her earlier reminder (1.234–237). In short, she asks only for what is fated, and has been promised to her. She naturally expects these promises to be kept, as she reminds Jupiter. But she never threatens bitterly or rails angrily, as Juno does. With respect she addresses Jupiter (1.229–230), and speaks of what he will permit (10.26), or of what he may prefer (10.43), and, above all, of what the fates have decreed and he has himself approved.

All this may be mere diplomacy: like many another mother, Venus sometimes seems to care more for her son's safety and happiness than for his honor, or for honor in general. Thus to protect Aeneas against Dido and the Carthaginians she stoops to plots (1.657–658; hence there is truth in Juno's charge, 4.95 una dolo divum...femina victa duorum est); to protect Aeneas against Turnus and the Latins she stoops to wiles (8.393). In both instances, however, she is driven by justified fears for her son's safety (1.661, 671–672, 8.370). Even though the individual Aeneas rather than his glorious mission and destiny is the source of her concern, still through this concern his mission and his destiny are forwarded, to some extent. Even her tricks are bent to the furtherance of *fas* and of fate. Unlike Juno, she is never guilty of *violentia* or of *impietas*. Observe her diplomatic hedging, with its emphasis on the fates, Jupiter, and *fas*, in her conversation with Juno (4.110–113). At least she is not lying here, as Juno is in her reply, 115. Juno makes no effort to win over Jupiter, as she promises to do; indeed, he seems in ignorance of her plans until Iarbas directs his attention to the situation resulting from those plans. Again, when Venus is beguiling Vulcan, she declares that she made no move to win his aid for Aeneas at the time of the destruction of Troy, for Troy was doomed, and its towers were destined to fall(8.374–380)[35].

Venus truly declares that Juno is insatiable in wrath[36]: she is not softened by Aeneas's *pietas*; she is moved neither by the commands of Jupiter, nor by the decrees of the fates (5.781–784)[37]. *Ira*[38], *irae*, *furor*[39], *saeva*[40], *iniqua*[41] are terms often applied, rightly, to Juno. She is, moreover, selfish and greedy: she fears that she will lose the worship she demands if she cannot show her power by feeding fat the ancient grudge she bears Aeneas[42]. Toward the other gods she shows pettiness and jealousy: she is always afraid that one of them, Mars, Minerva, Diana, can accomplish more than she in vengeance (1.39–48, 7.304–310). She is far trickier and far more hypocritical than Venus[43]. She is without heart: she as well as Venus is responsible for Dido's suffering, and she, unlike Venus, owes something to Dido (see e. g. 1.446–447). Turnus, too, she treats badly; in the end she abandons him to his fate, and goes off happy (12.841), after stirring up a lesser divinity, Juturna, to undertake the task that she, the great queen of heaven, has proved unable to accomplish (12.147–153, 157–159). Nor did she have the right to undertake that task herself. She knew the truth from the start; yet foolishly and audaciously she hoped to thwart or twist the fates[44]. Carthage is, she plans, to

[30] I am not sure of the force of *fata deum* here. Usually the fates are absolutely independent of the gods. Compare 10.111–113.

[31] His fellow-Trojan, the seer Helenus, similarly obeys fate and the gods. He tells Aeneas only what they permit him to tell (3.377–380).

[32] The fates and his own desires *may* coincide, as in his union with the Arcadians (8.131–133).

[33] Aeneas points out to the gods themselves what is *fas* (6.63–65).

[34] She wins Neptune over; the first word of his answer is *Fas* (5.800), and his reference to *furores* (801) echoes Venus's plaint of Juno's *furor* (788). Venus cleverly reminds Neptune of Juno's interference with his domain (5.792).

[35] Vulcan, like Neptune (see note 34, above), enters into Venus's mood. He, too, respects *fas* and *fata* (8.397–399).

[36] Compare 5.608. There is no escape for her victims: compare 6.90–91.

[37] Compare Venus's second complaint, 10.36–41.

[38] 1.4, 11, 12.831.

[39] 4.91, 5.788, 10.63, 12.832. Compare *furens* in 2.613.

[40] 7.287, 593. Compare *saevissima* in 2.612.

[41] 1.668 (another reading is *acerbae*), 8.292.

[42] Note 1.48–49. There is a hint in 1.447 that the favor accorded by the goddess to Dido is proportioned to the gifts presented by the woman to Juno. The *do ut des* motive appears again not only in the dealings of Metabus with Diana (11.557–560) and of Turnus with Faunus and Terra (12.777–778), but also in those of Cloanthus with the sea-gods (5.235–238), of Nisus with Diana (9.404–409), of Pallas with the Tiber (10.421–423) and with Hercules (10.460–461), and of Aeneas himself with the *dea* who is really Venus (1.330–334), with Apollo and Trivia (6.69–70), and with the Sibyl (6.71–76). To none of these can blame be attached. When Juno reminds Jupiter of Turnus's many offerings to him (10.619–620), he immediately grants the momentary respite for which she begs (624–625). When Iarbas reminds Jupiter of the numerous gifts and sacrifices that he and his people had made to him (4.206–207, 217–218), Jupiter heeds Iarbas's prayers (220), noting (220–221) what Iarbas had asked him to note (208), and then acting at once (222–237).

[43] For her trickery see 4.105–106; for her hypocrisy see 10.63–64. Recall her lying promise to Venus (4.115). She makes false accusations against Aeneas in 10.65–66: Aeneas did not take the initiative either in the marriage compact with Latinus or in the subsequent war against the Latins. She falsely accuses Venus in 10.83: Venus had nothing to do with the transformation of Aeneas's ships into nymphs.

[44] She even talks as if she had fates of her own to oppose to the real fates (7.293–294). Venus may console herself by balancing good fortune against ill (1.230), but that does not imply rebellion against the adverse fates. Juno's words are distinctly echoed by her protégé Turnus, 9.135–137. Yet both he and Juno are ultimately forced to yield to the fates they had defied (12.676, 149–150). Juno's statement follows another that impresses us as

be a great kingdom (1.18), even though she knows well that Carthage is to be destroyed by Rome (1.22). Jupiter warns her definitely (*spes pascis inanis:* 10.627); yet she hopes against hope (631–632). She protests bitterly and scornfully against the protection afforded to Aeneas by the fates (1.39). If she cannot prevail on the gods above, she will stir up Acheron (7.312); she will instigate, against the will of the gods, an *infandum bellum* (7.583–584, 12.804). This war had been definitely forbidden by Jupiter (10.8–10); Juno was absolutely responsible for it[45]. Again and again Jupiter has to rebuke Juno because she interferes (9.803–805, 12.796–799), though she knows better (12.794–795).

What she cannot do directly she endeavors to accomplish through minions worthy of their mistress[46]. First she suborns Aeolus. Sainte-Beuve thinks that there is something of the Roman centurion in Aeolus[47]; but seldom did a Roman centurion[48] prove so false to his trust. Aeolus's province Jupiter himself, in his wise providence, had delimited (1.60–63): there was a fixed agreement (1.62), in accordance with which Aeolus was to *know how* to manage the winds (63), and was to let them loose only when *bidden* to do so by Jupiter (63). Juno shrewdly makes it appear that Jupiter had left Aeolus at liberty to let loose the winds over the sea whenever he should choose to do so (65–66)[49]. But both Juno and Aeolus know better. Aeolus, in yielding to the temptation offered him by Juno, oversteps his bounds, and interferes with Neptune. He deserves Neptune's rebuke, addressed to the winds (1.132–134[50], 137–139[51]). Aeolus does, indeed, assert (1.77) that it is *fas* for him to obey Juno, but this is mere subterfuge, worthy of his mistress: well he knows that he is guilty of gross insubordination. On the other hand the Trojan Palinurus, Aeneas's pilot, is faithful to his charge even unto death (5.847–851).

Next Juno employs as her tool Iris, *haud ignara nocendi* (5.618)[52], to inspire among the Trojan women that *furor*[53] of which they presently repent so bitterly[54].

Later, Juno uses Allecto, hateful even to her father and her sisters (7.327–328), who commits all hideous crimes (325–326), and even sets brother against brother (335). What cares Juno, or Allecto[55], that, as a result of Allecto's machinations, by which peace is violated[56], there at once perishes, while he is essaying the noble rôle of peace-maker, one of the most righteous of his race (7.535–537)? Moreover, Juno's use of Allecto seems to be illegal[57]; we note that she hustles Allecto off when her impious task is fulfilled (7.557–558).

Finally, it is under Juno's influence that Juturna induces the Italians to break a truce (12.222–237, 244–246). Here Juturna usurps the prerogatives of Jupiter (as Aeolus usurped those of Neptune, and Iris, perhaps, those of Proserpina), and dat signum caelo, quo non praesentius ullum turbavit mentes Italas monstroque fefellit (245–246). Then she tries to save Turnus's life at the cost of his honor, by carrying him away from Aeneas (12.468–485), as Juno had (10.636–660); Juno is unscrupulous in friendship as in enmity. Turnus we pity when he protests against such disgrace[58]. Finally, while Jupiter is weighing in the balance the fates of Aeneas and Turnus (12.725–727), Juturna again interferes by bringing Turnus his sword (785). This naturally outrages Venus (786)[59], and impels her to render similar service to Aeneas. But Venus does not aid Aeneas till Juturna has helped Turnus (772–776, 787). The only other occasion on which Venus alters the course of battle in her son's behalf is when (12.411–419) she miraculously heals the wound foully dealt to Aeneas through the breaking of the truce (311–323); Venus is rightly *indigno nati concussa dolore* (411).

Venus interferes also to save her son from a deed which would have destroyed his reputation forever[60].

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either wilfully stupid, or deliberately hypocritical (12.147–148). Juno knows that what she had done had *not* been sanctioned by fortune or by the fates; she has no more right to pretend that it was than Dido has to appeal to *pia numina* (compare note 16, above). Venus, however, abides by the fates: compare the passages cited above, and 10.49.

[46]Jupiter is unfair to Venus in his implication that she as well as Juno was to blame (10.105–106).

[47]To the first three Venus refers in her just complaint, 10.36–41.

[48]C. A. Sainte-Beuve, Étude sur Virgile, 207 (Paris, Calmann Lévy, reprint, 1891).

[49]See the interesting article, Centurio Romanus—"A First-Class Fightin' Man", by Charles S. Smith, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 22.17–22. [50]For Juno's untruthfulness see also note 43, above.

[51]*Fiducia*, used here of the winds, is twice employed of Turnus: see note 160, below.

[52]Compare Venus's reference to Aeolus's (= Juno's) presumption: see note 34, above.

[53]Iris is sent in 4.693–695 to free the struggling soul of Dido. Perhaps even this seeming act of mercy is impious (as would have been the aid which Aeneas wishes to offer the unburied Palinurus: see note 67, below). Since Dido is dying in a manner contrary to the fates and to her just deserts (4.696), it may well have been *impium* to curtail her sufferings. This is harsh philosophy; but it *is*, I believe, the philosophy of the Aeneid. Those who violate the fated order of things by inflicting death upon themselves are still *maesti* in the other world (6.434–437). To Dido herself is assigned a place in the Lugentes Campi (6.440–444); she and those like her still suffer there. *Pius* Aeneas, though in moments of despair he envies those who fell at Troy (1.92–101) and is ready to risk his life (2.668–672, 750–751), never thinks of deliberate suicide.

[54]So called in 5.659, 670. Their deed, or the influence that induced it, is described as *scelus* (5.793); the burning of the boats was done *fords* (794). [55]5.678–679, 767–769.

[56]The Fury triumphantly reports to Juno as a soldier to a superior officer (7.545–546). Juno, patroness of marriage though she is, rejoices in the bloody engagements that she has substituted for the prospective wedlock of Aeneas and Lavinia (555–556).

[57]Note *polluta pace*, 7.467. *Polluta* is used of the violation of hospitality by the murderer of Polydorus (3.61). In 7.505 the Fury (or her influence) is called *pestis*.

[58]Like her use of Aeolus and, perhaps (see note 52, above), of Iris.

[59]Note *nefas*, 10.673, *dedecus*, 10.681, 12.641, *indecorem*, 12.679.

[60]Jupiter, too, disapproves of it, but rightly blames the instigator Juno rather than the tool Juturna (12.798–799).

[60]I believe the Helen passage, 2.567–588, genuine. This has been doubted by many, e. g. Richard Heinze, Virgils Epische Technik[3], 45–51 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915). For a refutation of Heinze's view (as set forth in the first edition of his work, 1903) see H. R. Fairclough, The Helen Episode in Vergil's *Aeneid*, Classical Philology 1 (1906), 221–230. To Professor Fairclough's arguments others may be added.

I see no reason for condemning the passage on internal evidence. Matters of style do not furnish ground for dogmatic conclusions. Nor does the subject-matter present serious obstacles. That Aeneas is no saint Book 4 shows; were he always free from temptation, he would deserve less credit for his triumphs. The mere killing of a woman would not matter: Arruns's killing of Camilla is condemned because he goes about it in a hypocritical and cowardly manner (perhaps also because Camilla is the favorite of a goddess). In Helen's case it is the killing of a woman *at the altar* that matters (2.574). That she is a hateful thing, perhaps even to the altar itself (*aris* may be felt with *invisa* as with *sedebat*) may mitigate the situation (compare 2.402), but it cannot excuse the contemplated sacrilege. I believe that for the moment Aeneas is capable of sacrilege, for he is beside himself: he shows this by forgetting those to whom he is bound by the holiest and dearest ties, wife, father, son.

Should the passage be removed, verse 589 would come clumsily after 566, as has been pointed out, e. g. by Wagner and Conington. A *cum-inversum* clause (589–591) naturally follows imperfects (*iactabam, ferebar*, 588), not perfects (*deseruere, misere, dedere*, 565–566). Moreover, if the passage is an interpolation, there is no occasion for Venus to reproach Aeneas for his rage, or to remind him of his family (594–598). Himself again (559), he had recalled his family (560–563), and was considering sanely what was best to be

Aeneas is human enough to be tempted, and great is his provocation; but we must be thankful that he does not fall. The Greeks Peneleus[61], Pyrrhus[62], Orestes[63], the Tyrian Pygmalion[64], the Italian Messapus[65], kill men at the altar; but Aeneas must not be guilty of a like crime[66], even though Helen well merits such a fate. Vergil, unlike Homer, makes Helen thoroughly revolting; her acceptance of Deiphobus after Paris's death and her betrayal of him on Menelaus's coming place her beyond the pale of decent humanity. Yet we must rejoice that Venus did not suffer Aeneas to sully his hands by slaying her[67].

Similarly, Apollo saves Ascanius from brutalizing contact with war (9.652–656). As Sainte-Beuve says, "si jeune, on devient trop aisément cruel"[68]. Ascanius must not go the same way as that other young warrior, Neoptolemus[69]. Other deities, too, who favor Aeneas are on the side of law and order, peace and quiet—always against *violentia*. Cybele, wishing to protect Aeneas's boats, makes due suit to Jupiter for the privilege (9.83–84). Neptune[70], calming the tempest stirred up by Juno and Aeolus, is compared (1.151) to the man who quiets an ignoble mob[71], a man *pietate gravis*[72]. He stills the clamor of the deep (154), and leaves all peaceful behind him (155–156). Later, too (5.820–821), at his passing the waves subside, the deep is calm, the clouds flee[73]. Likewise, when Jupiter speaks, the ether is still, the zephyrs subside, the sea is placid (10.102–103). Truly, these are calm, noble gods who support Aeneas against the hosts of violence, even as at the battle of Actium the fairest and noblest of the gods contend against the monstrous powers of evil[74].

(*To be concluded*)

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done (564). Venus had *then* no need to interfere, or to make the soul-shaking revelation of 604–623.

Heinze (46) condemns the passage as inconsistent with Deiphobus's account in Book 6 (511–529): compare 6.518–519, 525–527 with 2.571–574. Note also that 6.515–516 does not tally perfectly with 2.242–243, or 6.518–519 with 2.254–259. Again, 6.341–354, a passage involving Palinurus, does not agree in every particular with the earlier account of his fate, 5.779–871. But we do not on these grounds question the genuineness of 2.242–243, 254–259, or 5.779–871.

<On this matter of 'inconsistencies' see now, Professor Bassett's paper, Homer and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 24.41–42, and my remarks on this paper, *ibidem*, 42–43. C. K.>.

[61]2.424–426. The *diva armipotens* to whom the altar belongs (425) may glory in bloodshed, but she resents sacrilege: compare the anger ascribed to her by Sinon (2.171–175), and Juno's mention of her vengeance (1.39–45). [62]2.550–553, 663.

[63]3.330–332. Many have commented on the poetic justice by which Pyrrhus dies at Orestes's hand the sort of death he had meted out to Priam.

[64]1.348–350.

[65]12.289–293. Messapus's victim tumbles over one of the altars that have already been violated by the Italians (283); Messapus, in his eagerness to break the treaty (290), pursues him and dispatches him. That the killer is aware of what he is doing is proved by his sacrilegious exclamation (296).

[66]I incline to think that in 2.576 *sceleratas sumere poenas* means the same thing as *sceleris sumere poenas*, and also that the *poenas* constitute a *scelus*.

[67]The Sibyl checks Palinurus when he pleads with Aeneas to help him across the Styx (6.370–371). This plea, we may be sure, Aeneas was eager to grant: even the Sibyl is moved to pity by Palinurus's plight (377–381). But to grant his prayer would be *nefas* (6.376). On the other hand the Sibyl defends Aeneas against the charge of *nefas* when it is undeserved (compare 6.391, 399–407).

[68]Sainte-Beuve (as cited in note 47, above), 178.

[69]Pyrrhus must have been still very young at the time of the fall of Troy; he does not marry until ten years thereafter, according to Odyssey 4.5 (Vergil, who, in 3.327–332, represents Pyrrhus's marriage and death as in the past when Aeneas arrives at Epirus, has speeded events up a bit). The name Neoptolemus suggests the *young* warrior, even though it may mean the *late* (*belated*) warrior (Neoptolemus's youth would account for his lateness in entering the war). The description of him in 2.470, 473 suggests youth. Even subsequently he may be described as *iuvenis*, probably in the sense of a decidedly young man: see Andromache's words, 3.326, and Professor Knapp's comment on that passage.

[70]Neptune's action in demanding the death of Palinurus may seem out of keeping with the rest of his behavior, especially since that death involves a breach of honor (5.838–846) and of hospitality (6.358–361). But perhaps there is religious significance in the thought of the vicarious sacrifice—*unum pro multis dabitur caput* (5.815). [71]1.148–156.

[72]Has *graviter* in 1.126 the same shade of meaning? Does *graviter commotus* merely = 'seriously disturbed', or does it suggest that, even when he is *commotus*, Neptune is *gravis*? Though he is justly indignant, he is not violent.

[73]The Tiber, after uttering words of reassurance (8.38–39), stills his stream (8.86–89), as Neptune quiets his waves.

[74]8.698–700, 704–705. Three of the four divinities who especially aid Augustus at Actium, Neptune, Venus, and Apollo, are regularly on the side of Aeneas. Minerva, the fourth, plays a small part in the Aeneid. Her connection with the Greeks is too complete and too well-known to allow Vergil to present her as helpful to Aeneas; yet she is too noble and dignified to take the part of the hero's enemy, as Juno does. Accordingly, her doings are kept in the background, as are some other details that might militate against the effect Vergil wishes to produce (compare notes 18, 135). The Trojan women do appeal in vain to her in her anger (1.479–482), but that is counterbalanced by the companion-picture of her wrath against the Greeks, 2.171–175, and by the vengeance which she exacted from one Greek (1.39–45).

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Tradition and Design in the Iliad. By C. M. Bowra. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press (1930), Pp. x + 278. $4.00.

Professor C. M. Bowra's book, Tradition and Design in the Iliad, shows the prevailing current in Homeric criticism. The author, although a pupil of Gilbert Murray, is a Unitarian. He recognizes, however, the contributions of both schools of Homeric scholars. His work is a sane and useful appraisal of the results of recent study of Homer. He is judicial, rather than polemic: only twice does he pay his respects to the extremists of the two opposing schools ("scientific criticism strained at the gnat of some difficulties in composition, and swallowed the camel of multiple authorship..." [270]; "The traditional character of Homeric art must be clear to all but those who will not see..." [2]). He draws many inferences from the character of other early epics, yet is aware of the danger of relying on analogy. He is sufficiently acquainted with recent books on Homer, less so with scattered articles and brochures. For example, a study of page 11 of Dr. Milman Parry's monograph, Les Formules et la Métrique d'Homère (Paris, 1928), might have prevented his improbable explanation of *μέροπες ἄνθρωποι*[1] (148), and, if he had considered the evidence offered by me in Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 47 (1927), 116–148, he might have interpreted differently Iliad 1.404.

The scope of Mr. Bowra's work is clear from the outline of the contents:

I. Tradition and Design (1–26); II. The Origins of the Epic (27–52); III. The Hexameter (53–66); IV. Some Primitive Elements (67–86); V. Repetitions and Contradictions (87–113); VI. The Similes (114–128); VII. The Language (129–155); VIII. The Historical Background (156–191); IX. The Characters (192–214); X. Homeric Theology (215–233); XI. Homer and the Heroic Age (234–250); XII. Homer's Time and Place (251–274).

Mr. Bowra's argument runs as follows. Before Homer there existed side by side lyrics in strophes

[1]The matter involved here is the quantity of the final syllable of *μέροπες*. C. K.>.

(folk poetry) and short narrative songs not in stanzas (court poetry). The Iliad developed from the latter, not by accretion, but by a fundamental reshaping made by a genius who came after long development of epic art in a school of bards. Homer committed the Iliad to writing only to aid him in remembering it; it was not meant to be read. His poem contains many primitive elements, but (48) he "subordinated them to his artistic purpose and impressed his own personality upon them..." The repetitions and contradictions are due partly to Homer's nearness to the primitive and to his lack of flawless masterpieces as models, and partly to the fact that his poem was delivered orally. His language is the heritage of his epic tradition. This tradition began before the differences between dialects had been thoroughly established. Homer uses words of other than Aeolic and Ionic dialects. Many so-called Attic forms are not Attic, and at any rate Attic and Old Ionic came from the same parent stem. The richness of the traditional vocabulary is seen in the presence of many Cypriote and Arcadian words, and in a large store of words from an older, non-Greek language. The Trojan War was a historical event, if we test Homer by Egyptian and Hittite records, by the Greek tradition, and by archaeological evidence. The War may have been a part of the movement by which the Hittite Empire fell.

Homer himself lived considerably before the earliest elegiac and lyric poets, but there is no final proof that he was earlier or later than Hesiod: both may have drawn from the same sources. Homer is certainly as early as the eighth century B. C.

By translating all Greek passages quoted the author shows that his book is intended also for students of literatures other than Greek. Therefore a few slips or statements which are likely to be misinterpreted are noted here. On page 118 "Patroclus" is twice printed for 'Sarpedon'; on page 218, the oath sworn at 19.258 should be accredited to Agamemnon, not to Achilles. Neither lion nor wolf is represented on the Vaphio Cups (119); Homer does not say (Odyssey 22.353) that the Suitors brought Phemius with them to Ithaca (27), or (Iliad 5.774) that the Simois joined the Scamander under the walls of Troy (161). It is misleading to say (131) that in Homer "the subordinate moods of the aorist keep their past sense, the article is often demonstrative..." The author shows an occasional tendency to read into a passage a meaning which is not supported by other passages. For example, he argues (22) that it is pity for Priam (Iliad 24.516) which leads Achilles to comply with the command of Zeus to give back Hector's body. But Achilles had already agreed to do this (24.139–140), and he says as much to Priam (24.560–561).

These are minor matters. Much more important is the author's interpretation of the character of Achilles, because this determines in no small degree his conception of Homer's design in handling the tradition. The tragic plot of the Iliad, so far as it concerns Achilles, depends, according to Mr. Bowra, on the moral degradation of the hero through three successive sins, (1) lack of due reverence for Agamemnon (Book 1), (2) his refusal of the 'handsome amends' of Agamemnon (Book 9: "...Now it is Achilles and not Agamemnon who is in the wrong": 197), and (3) his refusal to spare the life of Lycaon and his maltreatment of Hector's body. I believe that Homer gives unmistakable evidence against this interpretation of Achilles's acts[1]. (1) That Homer regards Agamemnon as entirely to blame is indicated by these facts: Athena bids Achilles upbraid Agamemnon (1.211); Thetis does not criticize Achilles's conduct (1.414–427, 506–507); Zeus avenges the insult of Agamemnon, thus tacitly acquitting Achilles, and no Greek blames Achilles until after the Embassy (Book 9): compare 2.239, 9.11, and especially 9.522–523. (2) The 'sin' of Achilles in Book 9 is not in refusing the gifts of Agamemnon, but in refusing to yield to the entreaty of his friends. The evidence is apparently complete and indisputable. In the interview with Achilles neither Odysseus nor Phoenix refers to any repentance on the part of Agamemnon, but only to the gifts (9.260–261, 515–520). Agamemnon has offered only half amends. Nestor recommended (9.113) 'mollifying gifts and kindly words'. Agamemnon omits the latter, as Nestor tacitly recognizes (compare 9.164, δῶρα μέν: there is no reference to 'kindly words'). The apology was essential to a reconciliation, for Achilles is to most readers of Homer—as the ancients thought that he was to Homer himself (Eustathius 1696, 65)—in spite of Mr. Bowra (193–194), a 'preux chevalier'. His tragic guilt lies in refusing the plea of his best friends (9.495, 521–523, 630–631): these comrades had honored him, Agamemnon had dishonored him—and had offered no apology! The contrast between τίομεν (9.631) and the frequently repeated ἠτίμησεν Ἀτρείδης is to be noted. (3) There is no convincing evidence in the Iliad that Achilles sins against the knightly code of his day, either in refusing to grant Lycaon's plea for life (21.99–113) or in dragging the body of Hector (22.395–400). Agamemnon twice refuses to spare the life of suppliants (6.45–65, 11.131–146): the poet comments favorably on the first refusal (6.62). As for maltreating the body of an enemy, the knightly code apparently permitted this in certain cases. Glaucus thinks that the Myrmidons will outrage the body of Sarpedon, because the latter has slain so many of the Danaans (16.545–546), and Patroclus urges the two Ajaxes to do this (16.559). Hector tried to cut off the head of Patroclus and intended to give his body to the dogs (17.126–127), for Patroclus had slain his brother Cebriones (compare 16.737–738). Achilles had learned from Iris of this intended insult to the body of his dearest friend (18.175–180). Surely Homer did not intend his hearers to blame Achilles for retaliating. Nor is his 'unseemly treatment' of Hector's body (22.395) "shameless deeds—and not to be pardoned..." (21). The word 'unseemly' is by no means the poet's criticism of Achilles's action (compare 24.733–734); the 'unseemly treatment' which Astyanax will receive is a disgrace to

[1] In this connection reference should be made to Professor Bassett's discussion of this general topic, in his review of R. Herkenrath, Der Ethische Aufbau der Ilias und der Odyssee, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 24.68–70. C. K.>.

the boy, not to his captor. Mr. Bowra's estimate of Achilles's conduct is colored by the code of medieval chivalry (compare 194), as his view of the fate of Paris is Platonic (24; Paris "offers to fight Menelaus, but his curse <i.e. the curse laid on him by Aphrodite> prevents a conclusion being reached..." Compare Plato, Republic 380 B, 'They were benefited by being punished').

We have dwelt on some points which are likely to give the reader pause. These are few. The author's main conclusions are so well supported by argument and evidence that his book should be in the library of every serious student of Homer.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT SAMUEL E. BASSETT

## CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

II

The Hound and Horn—Spring, 1931, Review, favorable, by A. Hyatt Mayor, of Mary Hamilton Swindler, Ancient Painting; Review, mildly unfavorable, by A. Hyatt Mayor, of Gisela M. A. Richter, Animals in Greek Sculpture.

Illustrated London News—December 13, 1930, A City Inhabited in Four Millenniums: Excavations and Discoveries at Argos [six photographic illustrations accompanied by a descriptive note. "...remains of every period, from 2,000 B. C. onward, are found there, and it is a populous town even now"]; December 20, A Great Find at Pompeii: A Patrician's Treasure-Chest Dug Up [one photographic illustration of "the house that has yielded a Roman strong-box full of plate and jewellery: 'no. 4' in the Street of Abundance, Pompeii..."]; December 27, Treasure-Trove From the Eighth Grave: Art-Work of the 6th Century B. C. Found in Trebenishte, Yugoslavia [six photographic illustrations accompanied by a descriptive note. "Dr. Voulitch believes that the 'finds' are unquestionably of Greek origin"]; January 10, The Remarkable Discovery of a Patrician's Plate Chest in Pompeii: Treasures of the New 'Find' [ten photographic illustrations accompanied by a descriptive note. "It is claimed that it can only be compared with the 102 silver cups and vases of the 'Boscoreale Treasure'"]; January 31, Appreciation, generally favorable, by L. P. H., of Albert Neuberger, The Technical Arts and Sciences, Translated by Henry C. Brose; Art Treasures Found in the Sea: Greek Sculptures Dredged up at Piraeus [six photographic illustrations accompanied by a descriptive note. "The date of this set is about 100 B. C."]; February 14, In a House at Nero's Birthplace: The Newly-Discovered Mosaics [four photographic illustrations, accompanied by a descriptive note, of discoveries made at Antium, the modern Anzio]; Thermi: Was it a Colony of Troy or an Independent Settlement? [nine photographic illustrations, accompanied by descriptive notes, of discoveries made at "the prehistoric settlement of Thermi, on the north coast of Mytilene (Lesbos)"]; February 21, A Notable Discovery at Pompeii: The Tinted Statue of Livia [two photographic illustrations, accompanied by a descriptive note, of a discovery made "in the famous Villa of the Dionysiac Mysteries"]; February 28, Where Men Were Massacred by Their Wives: New Light on Mysterious Lemnos, Doro Levi [with twenty-six photographic illustrations. "An important Tyrrheno-Pelasgian settlement was brought to light embracing the period from the ninth to the sixth century B.C. ....The most striking discovery...consists of some sherds with inscriptions in a non-Greek language, with letters that seem to resemble the Lemnio-Phrygian alphabet..."]; March 7, The Divining-Rod in Archaeology: The "Twig" for Locating Subterranean Tombs and Buried Treasures: Signorina Mataloni, Thomas Ashby [with three photographic illustrations. "The sensitiveness to the presence of a void in the earth below, which Signorina Mataloni possesses, is not uncommon"]; March 14, A Roman Provincial Town Planned on a Grandiose Scale: The Mysterious Ruins of Apamea; Public Buildings; Spacious Streets; "Modern" Water-Supply, translated from the description of F. Mayence [with twelve photographic illustrations and two reconstruction drawings. This article discusses "the excavations undertaken by the Belgian Archaeological Expedition to Apamea, in Syria"]; March 21, New Detail of Hadrian's Wall Revealed by Air Photography [two photographic illustrations and one reconstruction drawing, accompanied by a descriptive note]; April 4, 'Mystery' Statues in an Island Famed for Coan 'Gauze' [nine photographic illustrations accompanied by a descriptive note. The statues were found "in the small Roman theatre, or Odeum, at Cos" and "range in date from the fourth century B. C. to Imperial Roman times"]; April 11, Great Discoveries in Byzantine Art and Architecture; Treasures Found in the Double Church of St. Mary Panachrantos at Constantinople, Converted Into a Mosque in the Fifteenth Century, But Now Disused, Stanley Casson [with six photographic illustrations, two drawings, and one plan]; April 25, The Rich Proud Cost of Outworn Buried Age [this is an appreciation, by L. P. H., of W. H. Boulton, The Romance of Archaeology and The Romance of the British Museum]; May 2, New Discoveries in Early Greek Art Near Corinth [fifteen photographic illustrations, accompanied by descriptive notes, of "discoveries made by an expedition from the British School at Athens...at the Heraeum..."]; June 6, New Light on Greek Religion in Sicily: Great Discoveries at the Sanctuary of the Earth-Goddess at Agrigentum; Art Relics Ranging From the 6th Century B. C. to the Hellenistic Age, Pirro Marconi [with fourteen photographic illustrations]; June 13, The Art of Mosaic in Ancient Greece: Discoveries in a Roman Villa at Corinth; Magnificent Mosaic Floors, Probably of Greek Origin Before the Roman Invasion of 146 B. C., Theodore Leslie Shear [with five colored illustrations. "Therefore, my belief is

that these floors were built for a house of the Greek period which was destroyed at the time of the destruction of the city in 146 B. C., and that they were subsequently re-used in a Roman house constructed on the site in the time of the restoration, after 46 B. C." <on this villa see The Classical Weekly 24.131–132. C. K.>]; The Venus of Cnidos Draped: The Venus of Cnidos Undraped [three photographic illustrations accompanied by a descriptive note].

International Journal of Ethics—April, Review, mildly favorable, by Gerald B. Phelan, of W. J. Sparrow Simpson, St. Augustine's Conversion: An Outline of his Development to the Time of His Ordination; Review, favorable, by Adam Alles, of William Pearson Tolley, The Idea of God in the Philosophy of St. Augustine; Brief review, favorable, by Alburey Castell, of Plutarch's Moralia, Volumes I and II, Translated by F. C. Babbitt (in The Loeb Classical Library).

International Studio—March, Review, favorable, by Clark Hopkins, of E. Douglas Van Buren, Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria; Review, qualifiedly favorable, by Agnes Rindge, of Gisela M. A. Richter, Animals in Greek Sculpture.

Isis—February, Review, favorable, by L. G., of Paul Tannery, Pour l'Histoire de la Science Hellène: De Thalès à Empédocle², par A. Diès, avec une Préface de Fr. Enriques.

Journal of Economic and Business History—May, Ancient Athenian Mining, George M. Calhoun ["...I believe we must admit the correctness of Ardaillon's opinion, and conclude that Attic law distinguished between ownership of the land, which was private property, and mineral rights, which were reserved to the state". It is suggested that this arrangement arose when "the silver mines were taken over by Pisistratus in the course of his conflicts with the aristocracy..."].

Journal of Education—March, Fair Play for the Classical Course, Maynard C. Waltz [this is a brief article on the "value of the classical course in the secondary school"].

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